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THE INTERIOR

Important Political Document. AUTHORITATIVE EXPOSITION OF THE POSITION OF EDWARD BATES ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION. Freedom the Rule-Slavery the Exception.

[From the St. Louis Evening News, Nov. 8th.] Some of the Opposition papers of Missouri the St. Joseph West among them.) while admitting the indecency of private citizens, who suppose themselves candidates for the Presidenthrusting their opinions on all questions unasked, on the contrary, nevertheless appear to think that the case of Edward Bates is an exception. They claim that Mr. Bates stands so prominently before the country as a possible candidate for the Presidency, and that the anxiety of Massachusetts is so great to declare in favor of him, if his views on the Slave Question are acceptable to them, that Mr. Bates ought to make public his views on that one subject at Otherwise, many citizens, after commiteast. ting themselves to his support, might find themselves in a false position.

There will be no occasion for any citizen ever feeling any embarrassment on Mr. Bates ac-He is not a candidate for the Presidency, and will not seem, by publishing letters unasked, and on even the most trifling occasion, to be courting attention to his views.

But if Mr. Bates should be made a candidate

by the authoritative voice of his country, he vill obtain no vote upon false pretences. ill stand upon no juggle, like the Cincinnati Platform, with its ambiguous and double readngs. The country will know his position on all questions, manifestly as in letters of living Till then, Mr. Bates' views of Slavery rill not probably be more formally set forth. But as the Evening News, several months

to, presented the name of Mr. Bates as the farite of the St. Louis Oppositionists for the residency, it is reasonably to be supposed hat we had sufficient knowledge of his ons, on this and other subjects, to justify the omination of him. It may be that we know nough of his views, even now, to satisfy the ore importunate querists in the matter, lowing are what we are sure will be found to e the views of Edward Bates on the Slavery Inestion:

SLAVERY NOT BENEFICIAL SECTALLY, POLITICALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY. Mr. Bates does not believe that "African Slas

very is the corner-stone of Liberty."

He does not believe that African Slavery is a eneficial Institution, either in a social, politial, or religious sense. Not in a social sense, ecause it sets at naught the family relation and eparates man and wife, parents and children, at the caprice, or on the necessities of owners; ot in a political sense, because it is productive f discords between nations that tolerate it, and nations that do not, and because it is liable to panies, commotions, insurrections and massas cres, and has ended often in bloody revolutions; not in a religious sense, because it shuts the mind against knowledge, makes the word of God a sealed book to the Slave, and gives his body o the service of a human master, whereas the body of every created being should be freely given to the service of God.

ITS EXTENSION UNCONSTITUTIONAL EXCEPT BY AF-EHRMATIVE LEGISLATION. Because Mr. Bates does not believe that

lavery is a beneficial institution, either in a social, political, or religious sense, he is unalterably opposed to its extension in the Territories already free. Mr. Bates, in his political creed, is a Henry Clay Whig; and Mr. Clay declared that his "right arm should drop from his shoulder before he would vote to extend slavery over one foot of territory already free." Mr. Bates heartily endorses that sentiment and holds

Mr. Bates does not believe that the Constitution, by its proper vigor carries slavery into all the Territories that may be acquired by the United States. He believes that freedom is the rule, and slavery the exception. He does not believe that slavery can exist in an territory.acquired by the Government of the United States, except by the positive law of Congress. That positive law Mr. Bates would not be in favor of passing, because for reasons already given, he s opposed to the extension of slavery into territory already free.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN SLAVE AND OTHER PROPERTY COEVAL WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

If it be held that this exclusion of Slave property from Territory "acquired by the common blood and treasure of the Union," establishes an invidious distinction between two sections of the Union-that it denies to the South rights that are freely given to the North-Mr. Bates lenies emphatically that it has any such effect. The distinction complained of is coeval with the Government. It is no new thing-no modern hardship-in fact no hardship at all. The localizing of slavery—the probibition of its emi-grating and establishing itself in Free Territory, was embedied in the compact of the Union, at the beginning. But for this limitation the Slave States got far more than an equivalent in being allowed in the National Congress and in Presidential elections three votes for every five slaves. Slaves do not vote, but their masters vote for them. The votes of two men in the South count as much as the votes of fice men in the Free States.

CITIZENS OF NEW YORK POSSESSING RIGHT OF PROP-ERTY NOT HELD BY A VIRGINIAN.

Why should this be so? If slaves are only property, as the Southern man will say, why should not the Northern man's property vote also. It is all only property. When the slaveholder is disposed to complain, therefore that a distinction is made against him-that he can't go into the common Territory of the country and take his property, the citizens of the free State can reply: "It is not property like my property that you wish to take, but it is properry that roles, it property that gives you two and a half notes to my one-it is property that makes me inferior to you, in our relations to the Federal Government, and that is not fair when we come to occupy what has been bought by the common blood and treasure of the Union

This distinction between free property and ave property is, as before stated, as old as the Constitution itself. If there were no Territories at all, the same distinction would exist. A citizen of New York can remove his domicil to the State of Ohio and carry all his property with him and hold it. A citizen of Virginia cannot remove to the State of Ohio and carry all his property with him and hold it. He can't do it, now. He couldn't do it ten years ago, nor twenty years ago, nor at any time since Ohio

guage of the second section of the IVth article protect the rights of States in that species of

SLAVERY IS NOT PROTECTED BY THE CONSTITUTION, BUT ONLY BY LOCAL LAW.

Yet we find that citizens of Massachusetts ertain privileges in the matter of changing One can go to Ohio and carry his property and keep it. The other cannot. And yet demagogues would have Southern men Mr. Bates would urgently recommend to Con-believe that no discrimination against their gress to pass some law that would more cerbelieve that no discrimination against their property ought to exist, or ever did exist, and listinction between certain classes of property. which the South cannot, in honor, submit tol

If slavery cannot go into the Free States and maintain itself, why should it expect to go into Free Territories and maintain itself-there begorous, as comprehensive, and as just in Ohio operty-the rested rights-of all citizens, in all places of the Republic, as equally sacred? If slavery is national-if it exists in the Constitution itself-how can the Constitution permit an owner of such property to be despoiled of it in Free State, any more than in a Free Territo-Can a State be permitted to nullify the rights of man in property that is recognised in the Constitution of the United States—and the Pederal Government have no power to interfere? Of course not; for the Constitution says that "the United States shall guarantee to every State a Republican form of Government." But such a State Government despoiling a man o is right would not be Republic but Despotic t is clear, that if slavery be the rule-if it be ational-if it exists in the Constitution, and is carried wherever the Constitution prevails that it is as sacred in Ohio as in Kansas, and a firmly to be upheld in either, as on the banks of the Sabine. Wherever the flag of the Union loats, there every citizens is entitled to protect tion in all his rights, that are National and Constitutional. Such would be the case with egard to slave property, if slavery is national. THE DISCRIMINATION NEVER THOUGHT A HARDSHIP BY THE SOUTH.

But this is not so. It is not claimed even by the South, and never has been, that a slave owner has a right to remove with his negroes on Free State, and call on the United States Yet his right to go to a Free State is as perfect, under the United States Constitution, as it is to go to a Free Territory. Was Kansas acquired by "the common blood and treasure of the Union?" So was Iowa-and what right has owa, any more than Kansas, to discriminate against property so as to deprive the citizens of my portion of the Union of their National and onstitutional rights? This discrimination against slave property, as regards emigration into Free States, we have thus shown, has always existed, and never by the South been thought a hardship. And why? Because, per-haps, the citizens of the Slave States felt that in of property had obtained a peculiar and transendent advantage over all other property in one restriction, to wit: that it should not enter nto and establish itself in Free States.

If the South is tired of this discrimination against slave property, which 'has existed since the Government was established, and desires it abandoned, then the South should propose to how can it fairly claim the other?

Union as establishing a distinction between he does his own private honor, Mr. Bates opposes the attempt of Southern fanatics to make Slavery overleap its original rights, limitations, and relations to other property of the Union,

Inasmuch as the entire Democratic party of the Free States are as decidedly opposed as even the Republican party, to the extension of Slavery over territory previously free, it is quite evident that Congress will never intervene to protect Slave property in the Territories. Such eing the fact, those Southern men, who object to Mr. Bates as a Slavery restrictionist, might well ask themselves whether more of honor or advantage is gained by asking what cannot be had, and submitting to the fatal necessity of de nial and defeat; or asking only that the present limits, privileges and guarantees of Slavery be maintained, and obtaining it with the cheerful and hearty concurrence of line-tenths of all parties in the Union.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL RENDERING THE INS. TRODUCTION OF SLAVERY INTO TERRITORIES IN

FOSSIBLE.

If the National Democracy offer more to the South, we know they offer what they cannot and do not mean to try to give. The hisory of Kansas is too recent and too instructive n which we saw the most violent Pro-slavery Democrats, as they professed themselves, after getting men and money from the South, by hun-dreds and by thousands, to save Kansus to the bouth, suddenly became Free Democrats, whon they found success doubtful under the Pro-slavery banner, and sought office as Free Demoerats, unblushingly declaring that Slavery never and been an issue in Kansas! The principle of the Kansas Ndbraska bill, in the shape of Squatter Sovereignty; has rendered the intro-duction of Slavery into Territories impossible; and the passage of that bill is the work of the National Democracy. Mr. Bates merely holds as a principle that which the Democracy have established as a flict. The question of slavery extension is no longer before the people. It is

discussed now only as an abstraction.

If Mr. Bates does not believe Slavery to be a vise, and useful institution-if he is opposed to twenty years ago, nor at any time since Ohio
wise and State of the Union. Why is this
so! Does not the Constitution prevail equally
over all the Union? Does not the very lans

where slavery exists, and will go just as far to

Jacob Berger,
Jacob Hornbrook,
Warren Copper,
Warren Copper,
Where slavery exists, and will go just as far to

Jacob Berger,
Jacob Hornbrook,
Warren Copper,
Geo. K. Wheat,
Chester D. Knox.

Alfraed Caldwell, Pres't.

of the Constitution of the United State declare property, as long as those States choose to keep that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled it, as any man living." to all privileges and immunities of citizens in PAYORS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE PURITIVE SLAVE

(in LAW: and Mr. Bates believes in the unqualified right of the owner to recover his slaves if they escape to a free State; and if President, he would execute ossess, and have possessed for over rifty years, the Fugitive Slave Law; if the army and navy of the Government were equal to the task. And puniciles, which the citizens of Virginia if the Euglive Slave Law should be repealed, or should be found inadequate to the service of returning absconding slaves to their masters,

tainly and more acceptably carry out the conhat to enforce such discrimination in the set. stitutional guarantees of the rights of Southern lement of new States would be to establish a slaveholders. He would consider the Union a broken compact, if these plain guarantees were denied by the deliberate and persevering action of any part of the Confederacy.

If Congress, clearly representing the will of

the country, should pass laws legalizing and ing in neither case local laws to protect it? Is protecting, slave property in Territories proaws as promptly as any other laws of the land is it is in Kansas? Does it not regard the If a Territory should organize into a State, with a sufficient population to justify its admission, and present a constitution tolerating slavery, Mr. Bates would not oppose the admission of such State because it had a pro-slavery consti-

REJOICES THAT MISSOCKI IS BECOMING A PREE STATE. His creed is, that every State has a right to say how much it wants of African Slavery, and now long it wants it, and how to get sid of it then its people are tired of it. He does not regard it as a perpetual institution, but as in its very nature, abnormal and evanescent, changing rapidly under the influence of climate, com-merce, civilization, religion, laws. He knows, (and is glad to know it,) that Missouri is rapidly becoming a Free State; and he does not deplore the fact that it is by transportation and not by commeignation, that the State is so rapidly becoming Free; for he knows that the Emancipaof the Slaves to remain in this country and mix with the whites, is abhorrent and intellerable. And to send them abroad by sudden and total exodus, is beyond the means of any government. What is beyond his own wisdom, he leaves to the inscrutable ways and infinite wisdom of God. The rapid and peaceful extinction of Slavery that is going on in Missouri, without the aid of "Emancipation Parties," and without the heat and acrimony of domestic discord, is entirely in accordance with the views and feelings of Mr. Bates. While Mr. Bates is glad to see Slavery declining in Missouri, other strong Oppositionists are sorry to witness the Same.

SLAVERY BRYOND REACH OF DEMAGOGUES-FREE LABOR BOUND TO BECOME DOMINANT.

Mr. Bates finds no cause of discord between simself and that pro-slavery neighbor on ac count of this difference; for he knows that neither the loy of the one; nor the sorrow of the other, will quicken or delay the inevitable consummation that is abead, Mr. Bates regards the fate of slavery as out of the domain of demagogues-utterly beyond their 'reachand impelled by that power that brings the times and seasons to their appointed course he privilege to rote on their slaves, that species and rolls up the Heavens as a scroll, when He has done with the wondrous panorama. By his own example he has shown that he prefers to he Union, that more than compensated for its live by his own labor, and not on the labor of slaves. But he claims to be, in this particular, only "a law unto himself."

THE NECESSITY OF PROCURING FOREIGN TERRITORY FOR COLONIZING FREE BLACKS.

He would never, under any circumstances, abandon, also, the privileges that such property view the interference with slavery in the States, enjoys. Surely it is only fair that property. The entire function of the Federal Government countenance a National organization having in enjoys. Surely it is only fair that properly should, in point of fact, become equal before it in regard to slavery, in his opinion, should be laims to go as equal into the common territory | to protect it where it is-not to extend it where of the Union. If the South decline the one, it is not and, so far as policy and ability may allow, to help those States get clear of it that THE SOUTH IN HONOR BOUND TO THE ORIGINAL RE- may wish to do so, by the procurement of For-STRICTION IMPOSED BY LAW. eign Territory suitable to the ready and cheap Mr. Bates does not, therefore, regard the non- colonization of Free Blacks, already become a admission of slavery into the territories of the grievous nuisance to every State of the Union. both Free and Slave. This is a National nuiproperty; but simply as maintaining a distinction already established, willingly assented to edy. The policy already broached in some by the South at the formation of the Govern- States of selling again into Slavery the Free ment, and ever since. It is only at the instance Blacks whom humane or grateful masters have of mischievous demagogues that the South is emancipated, unless those freed persons leave now tempted to change its position, and aban- the State-when, indeed, all the slave States don the literal and traditional compromises of and many of the free, prohibit their entrance the Constitution. As a true and upright citi- within their limits under heavy penalties, is, in en, who loves his country's well kept faith, as the highest degree cruel. It is barbarous.-And it would disgrace the American Government in the face of Christendom, to permit such a policy to prevail, from the lack of its own intervention to procure a suitable home for these sorely hunted and distressed-freemen of a well worked and faithful servile race. _____ | 174

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